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*Notes from India, Second Series.—A Visit to Ujjain—Bhartrhari's Cave—Legends of King Vikrama.—Letters to the Corresponding Secretary from Professor A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON, Columbia University, New York City.*¹

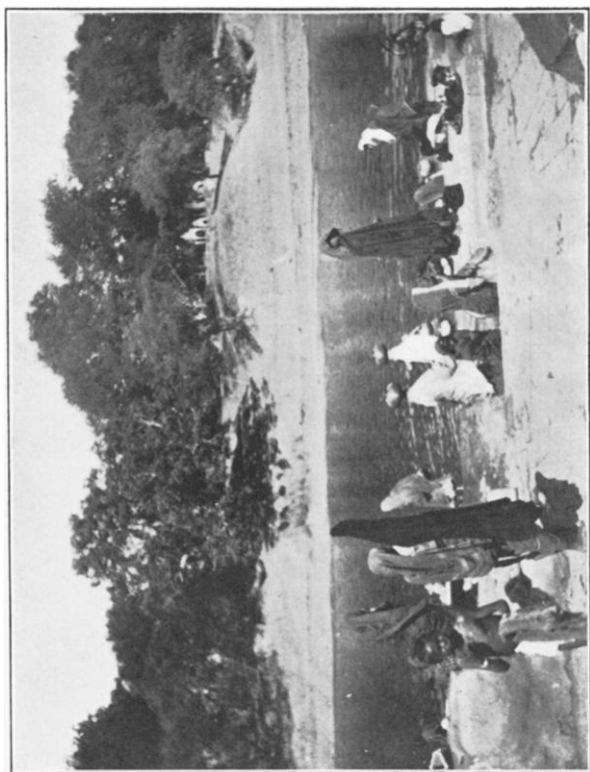
UJJAIN, March 10-13, 1901.—It will not be easy to forget the beauty of the Indian starlit night when I reached Ujjain, once the center of literary culture, science and art in India, made famous by the court of King Vikrama. Here at last I was in the home of many legends connected with Kālidāsa, and amid the very scenes portrayed by Çūdraka, Bhavabhūti, and the rest of the coterie whose names are associated with that period which is sometimes called the Renaissance of Sanskrit literature. Happily for the student, Ujjain in certain respects lies a little off the line of travel ; so that western influence and trade have not dispelled all the glamor that still tinges the old-time city with its enchanting glow.

After a good night's rest at the Dāk Bungalow near the railway station, it was time, at 6.30 in the morning, to start on our visit through the quarters and environs of what was once the renowned capital of Malwa. Nowadays Ujjain is perhaps better known as a minor place of export for opium, and as the site of a ruined astronomical observatory that made it the Greenwich of India over two hundred years ago. Our guide and host, Mr. Keshao Rao Ramaji Thomrey, Magistrate of His Highness Sitoliya Sahib of the Gwalior State, was waiting for us, and it was but a few minutes from the Bungalow, near Mahadeo College, before we were in the streets of the historic city.

1. Ujjain.

The first glimpse that met the eye, after the bullocks and beggars, was a huge elephant almost blocking the street, like Kārṇapūraka's monstrous victim in the *Mṛcchakaṭikā* (2.2, ed. Stenzler, p. 40-42, cf. Wilson, *Hindu Theatre*, i. 57). Not far

¹ A continuation of the first series, which appeared in the *Journal*, vol. xxii, 1901, pp. 321-332.



I. THE RIVER SIPRA AT UJJAIN.

beyond there peeped out from a doorway a curious dwarf woman that strangely recalled the cunning Mantharā of the Rāmāyaṇa. A few paces more brought us to the fortress gate of the great Vikramāditya. The gateway itself is a crude structure two stories high, with bulky posts or buttresses. These were stained red several feet above the ground, and before one of them a young Hindu woman chanced to be kneeling in a suppliant posture, offering flowers. The portal had a solemn, ominous look, rather than a hallowed appearance; and this is in keeping with the legend recorded about it below. Tradition says that the archway once formed the entrance to Vikrama's palace; from its vaulted top now hangs a rude copper bell. On the sides of the portal are twelve columns or pillars, with scrolls and carvings, and there are two striking old figures of the sisters of the terrible goddess Kālī. These two malign deities remained at Ujjain when their sister betook herself to Calcutta, and they still continue to manifest their evil nature by bringing cholera upon the city every twelve years.

Passing over the rough stone pavement that characterizes the neighborhood of the gate and was designed, it is said, to check the hoofs of invading horsemen in bygone days, we entered a more spacious street, on the right of which stands the rather commanding palace of the Mahārāja, now used as a judicial court. See figure 2.¹

Directly opposite, on the left, is placed a Temple of Rāma, where our host had charge of paying a monthly stipend to the ministering priests and worshippers. Thanks to him, access was granted us at once, which is not always the case in Hindu temples.

Facing the entrance to the enclosed precinct there is a small shrine of the ever-present monkey-god Hanuman, and to the left, in the rear of this, a fane of Çiva, with the footprints of the god. To the right of the enclosure, and partly supported by twelve columns, stands the Rāma temple itself. Around these

¹ The photographs illustrating these Notes were taken by my nephew, Frederic J. Agate, who accompanied me on my trip to India, and to whose kindness I am indebted for the opportunity of showing to Indologists several views which are not to be found either in Europe or India. For some reason or other Ujjain seems to have been neglected even in the Government collection.



II. MODERN PALACE AND COURT OF JUSTICE AT UJJAIN.



III. THE RUDRA-SĀGARA LAKE AND THE TEMPLE
OF HARI-SIDDHI AT UJJAIN.

twelve columns, as a cloistered walk, is made the *pradakṣiṇa*, or circumambulation in honor of Rāma; and on the right within the open temple walls is a place set apart for the daily reading of the Purāṇas. The large drums that stood near betokened a noisy accompaniment to the ritual worship. Directly in the center of the rear wall of the temple, as one looks in, there were noticed three figures in a shrine. These portrayed the semi-divine Rāma, standing in effigy between his brother Lakṣmaṇa on the right and his wife Sītā on the left. One or two ministering priests were moving about near the shrine, and on an incidental mention being made of the Vedas, some surprise, or perhaps concealed dread of profanation, was manifested when I ventured to whisper *Agnim ॐ purohitam yajñasya devam ṛtvijam*, etc.

A few steps beyond the shrine of Rāma, amid the maze of sacred buildings and past a temple of elephant-headed Gaṇapati, or Gaṇeṣa, we came to a sanctuary of Īva, under the form in which he is worshipped in the great epic, as Mahākāla, Great Time. In front of this temple we could hear a number of Brahman boys studying the YajurVeda with their master. We listened attentively to the intoned recitative, but as soon as they caught sight of us the recitation ceased, desecrated, as of old, by a foreign or unhallowed presence.

A turn to the right led to a fine, deep tank with Brahmans bathing and washing their garments, as in the eighth act of the *Mṛcchakatikā* (cf. also Wilson i, 122, 141). Some of them were busy with their *mantra* prayers, but one or two, less scrupulous than the rest, asked us for 'baksheesh' to purchase 'bang'; but we hurried on, casting a glance only at the oldest Temple of Mahadeo in Ujjain, near which a superb specimen of Īva's sacred bulls was lazily grazing.

After passing around to the other side of the tank, where a number of other priests were still going through their ablutions, we turned down a by-path to the right to visit a Hindu astronomer teaching some pupils who sat at his feet, like the scholars of Varāhamihira in Ujjain of old. This teacher, who gave his name in Sanskrit as Narāyaṇa Jyotiṣi and claimed to be a descendant of the family of Vyāsa, still adhered to the old geocentric school of astronomy, and, in making his Sanskrit explanations to his pupils and to us, he used an old iron wire figure of the universe by way of illustration.

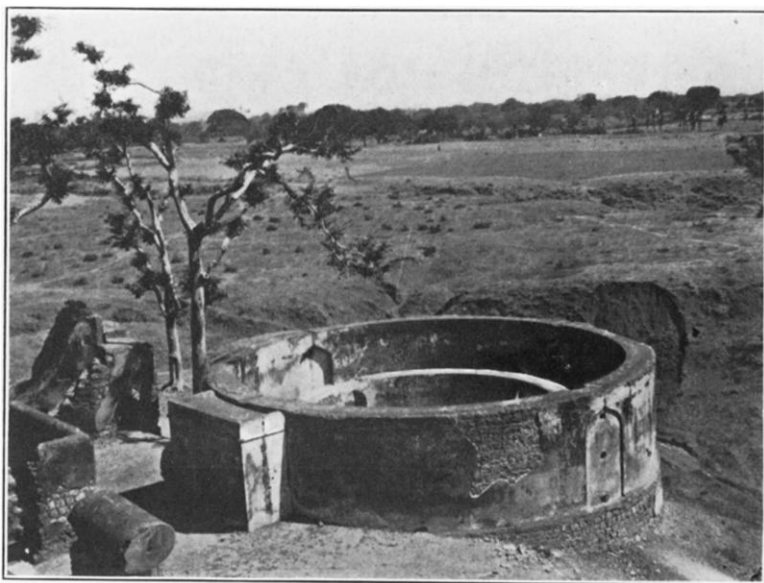
It was necessary to retrace our steps past some small stone images of gods and godlings, along the path that descended to the large Rudra-Sāgara Pond. This partly artificial lake is one of seven said to have been constructed by Vikrama, the number seven corresponding to the seven mythical Sāgaras, or oceans (cf. *Rāmāyana*, iii. 74. 25; *Vāsavadattā*, 23; and *Indische Sprüche*, 5508, 5742). A causeway led directly through the Rudra-Sāgara to the Temple of Hari-Siddhi on the farther bank. This goddess is renowned for having saved the life of King Vikrama by bringing *amṛta* from heaven as a balm to heal him on one occasion when he was severely burned. In grateful recognition of her beneficence the king founded a temple in her honor. In front of the goddess's sanctuary there were standing two tall columns, with stone receptacles or cups for holding lights at the festival of Dīvālī, or Feast of Lanterns. Near by was a good specimen of a *vaṭa-vṛkṣa* or banyan tree. The picture will help to make clear the position of the temple on the banks of the Rudra-Sāgara, and the earthen causeway that approaches it. See figure 3.

From Hari-Siddhi's Temple it was but a short distance to the Sipra (Skt. *Āiprā*) river, immortalized in Kālidāsa's famous lines descriptive of Ujjain. The verses addressed to the cloud-messenger in the Meghadūta record the charm of 'Sipra's breeze' (*Megh.* 1. 31, *āiprāvāta*) and the number of *sārasa* birds that haunt the river's banks; and the *Raghuvaṅṣa* alludes to the trees of the gardens along its shores as stirred by the breezes from its rippling waters (*Raghu.* 6. 35 *āiprātaraṅgāṇīlakampitāsu udyānaparamparāsu*). See figure 1.

The bank of the river was lined with bathing-places. As far as I could learn, these were farmed out, so that an income was assured to the respective proprietors. We noticed one particular ghāt that a widow owned as her claim. Her ideas of proprietary rights were evidently strongly developed, for a lively scene ensued when an invading bather entered her domain without paying the fee that made part of the woman's regular income. It was not necessary to understand the dialect of the vituperation, billingsgate, and mutual recriminations that followed. The gestures of the belligerent parties and the interested bystanders quite sufficed. See figure 4.



IV. A BATHING-PLACE ON THE BANK OF THE SIPRA.



V. THE OLD ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY AT UJJAIN.

Not far beyond was a place marked off in a square of about twenty feet for the *paṇmedha*, and near by was a Hindu, who, in accordance with the old Gṛhya-sūtra prescriptions, was going through the formal ceremony of tonsure and shaving after the loss of one of his near relatives. A few steps beyond, under a matting hovel, on his low corded bed, lay an aged Sannyāsin. One of his eyes was totally gone, all his teeth were out, and his ash-besmeared figure seemed as palsy-stricken as the *ṛṣi* in Sir Edwin Arnold's *Light of Asia*. He mumbled some lines from the *Gītā* on the philosophy of life, and made an unintelligible comment on far-off lands when our host tried to explain to him what was meant by America; and then he crept away to his wretched retreat.

There remained, at the moment, time only for a glimpse of the small Agastya Temple, where two Nautch girls were in attendance, and we entered our little covered pony carts to ride out to the south of Ujjain, to visit the ruins of the Astronomical Observatory. See figure 5.

This observatory was erected about A. D. 1724, by Jayasinha, or Jai Sing II, Rāja of Jaipur. The photograph, which is a rare one, is worth reproducing, with a few words of explanation. It was taken from the top of a brick and cement structure which had been built to serve as a huge sun-dial. The gnomon or marker of this old Titan time-piece is a wall in the shape of a right-angled triangle, some thirty or forty feet long at its base, and more than twenty feet high from the ground to the apex of its perpendicular. The thickness of the wall is three or four feet. It is set in the plane of the meridian, and its sloping hypotenuse points to the north pole. Steps, moreover, are cut in the inclined surface of the hypotenuse, so as to give an ascent to the apex. As the photograph was taken from this apex, only the base of the huge gnomon shows in the picture. [But near the foot of the perpendicular, to the left of the tree as one faces the photograph, one may easily recognize the remains of the arc of a giant circle, on which the shadow of the gnomon was wont to fall, as my colleague, Professor J. K. Rees, the astronomer, points out to me on showing him the illustration in its proof-sheet form.] Observations of the sun's approximate position, and determinations of the time of day, could readily be made by this immense instrument. There was a broken or

weathered stone mural quadrant (not shown in the picture) to the left of the base of the Yantra-samrāj. This must have been used for determining the sun's altitude and zenith-distance, if my very limited astronomical knowledge, especially in Indian astronomy, allowed me rightly to identify it; but I stand ready for correction at the hands of specialists in such matters; and my notes, unfortunately, had to be hastily made. I am not clear, moreover, as to what the purpose of the horizontal solid stone cylinder may have been, which is also noticeable in the picture near the foot of the dial pointer.

The striking feature, however, of the collection of structures, as seen in the photograph, is the wall of the two large horizontal circles of stone and cement. The outer of these is about ten feet high; the inner, about six. The doorways or gates in the wall are easily seen in the picture; the one to the north overlooks the river. The use of these circular structures (*digaṅga-yantra*) was evidently for determining the time of rising of the sun, moon and stars above the plane of the horizon. But such details regarding the observatory have an attraction chiefly for those who are working in astronomy. The view from the place, however, is one to be remembered. The Sipra river near by, the prospect over the broken plain set off by a background of woods, and in the distance a slowly moving camel train, all combined to give color to the scene. A myth regarding buried treasures was not lacking, and signs were in evidence where some credulous seekers had turned up the soil in two or three places, guided by a vision seen by an old woman in a dream.

To the reader of Sanskrit literature, the streets, alleys and lanes of Ujjain are ever a source of interest. The stock characters of the old Indian dramas and of Kālidāsa's poems are as much in evidence now as in ages long ago, even to the 'city-fed bull' which sniffed about the stalls, as in the fourth act of the *Mṛcchakatikā* (*Mṛcch.* p. 69, ed. Stenzler; Wilson, i. 84). The scene in the present photograph is an avenue facing a modern temple of Kṛṣṇa, with a handsome silver shrine; but near the gates of the sanctuary one may notice small dealers still carrying on their trade as of yore with cowrie shells instead of money. See figure 6.

Among other places of interest for Sanskrit students is Avantī-kṣetra, or the site of old Ujjain. It is necessary to drive



VI. STREET SCENE NEAR THE TEMPLE OF KRISHNA AT UJJAIN.



VII. ENTRANCE TO BHARTRHARI'S CAVE AT UJJAIN.

out a mile or so over rough, dusty roads, partly shut in by low mud walls. Here a spot is pointed out as the place where Bhartṛhari used to sit, and somewhat beyond is the cave where the poet used to dwell as a hermit.

2. Bhartṛhari's Cave.

The cave itself stands on an elevation overlooking a part of the river. There were numerous trees about it, well filled with birds; and the familiar crow of Sanskrit story was not absent. There is a stone shrine by the entrance to the cave; one must pass a few steps beyond this to a narrow gate in a wall, after entering which one comes to the real mouth of the cave. A few stone steps, steep and somewhat winding, lead down into the recess. To the north (if I rightly noted the points of the compass) was a small vaulted chamber where Bhartṛhari underwent so great acts of penance and self-abnegation that Indra himself cast his bolt from heaven to interrupt the anchorite's long-continued *tapas*. To the inquirer a rough circular mark in the stone slab above is pointed out to indicate how the sage raised his hand to ward off the shaft that struck the stone above his head. See figure 7.

Passing from this eremite cell eastward through a passage, one comes to a small hall or recess with a figure or picture representing Bhartṛhari's teacher, Gorakṣanātha, in the center, and on the left the moralist's nephew, Gopī-canda, his sister's son; while to the south an opening in the cavern's roof is pointed out, which is said to lead ultimately through a passage to Benares! ¹

Ascending up steps again to the east, within this underground vault, there is an entrance to a small cave dedicated to Sarasvatī and another to Gaṇapati. Here, sculptured in the stone, two footprints were visible. They were the marks of the venerated feet of Macchendranātha, the Guru of Bhartṛhari's own teacher. Near by, in another passage or recess, was a part of a large *liṅga* of Īva, known as the Āṅkara-Siṅha Liṅga. This must have been but one of many, for there are said to be no less than eighty-four sacred 'lings' in Ujjain.

¹ On returning from India I am able to add now a reference to a brief allusion to the names mentioned in this paragraph, in P. G. Nath's edition of Bhartṛhari, Bombay, 1896, pp. 8, 21, 43, 48.

Inquiry with regard to Bhartṛhari's history, who is looked on as the brother of Vikrama (see below), brought out the story of his favorite wife Piṅgalā in but a slightly different form from that elsewhere recorded. To test the devotion of his beloved on one occasion when hunting, he caused to be sent her his garments stained with the blood of a kid. Piṅgalā dropped dead at the sight; and on learning this, Bhartṛhari wished to live no longer. But to comfort the poet his Guru declared he could make a hundred Piṅgalās, which he did forthwith. Bhartṛhari became puzzled and could not discover his true wife; thereupon he renounced the world and became a Sannyāsin. This is a different story from the familiar one in the commentator to the famous *dhik*-verse (*Niṭigataka*, 2) regarding the precious fruit (*phala*) bestowed upon his wife Anaṅgasenā and given by her to her paramour. It is the one dramatized, as I was informed, in the plays relating to Bhartṛhari. The renunciation of the world and adopting the life of a recluse, account for the associations gathered about the cave, although it is stated that there are some corresponding cells in other places in India.¹

Time was reserved for visiting other places on the Sipra river, especially the Gaṅgā-ghāt, a fine landing with steps near one of its curves; and from the parapet a good outlook could be had over the dust-mounds of the older city.

In returning along a more remote road the site of a lonely temple of Durgā was passed, which one might associate with the terrific scenes in the fifth act of Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-mādhava*, describing her as the terrible goddess Cāmuṇḍā and her cruel skull-necklaced priestess Kapāla Kuṇḍalā. Besides the story about Kālidāsa recorded in *JAOS.* xxii, p. 331, there was an opportunity to gather a legend of Vikrama and the rise of newer Ujjain from the dust of the older Avantikā. The account as Mr. Thomrey related it ran almost as follows:

3. Legends of Vikrama and Old Ujjain.

'On one occasion Gandharvasena, son of Indra, was sitting with his father in Svarga, watching a dance of the Apsarasas. Gandharvasena chanced to laugh at one of the dancing girls;

¹ See now a mention of one at Mount Abū and of one at Achalgarh, in P. S. Nath, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

whereupon his father grew exceedingly angry and called him an ass (*khara*), pronouncing at the same time a curse upon him that he should descend to earth and become an ass.¹ The son begged the angry god at least to tell him to what place he should turn his steps, and at his father's bidding Gandharvasena went to Ujjain and lived in the Forest of Mahākāla (*Mahākālavana*).

'Now the daughter of the king of Avantikā, or old Ujjain, came to offer worship to the god Mahākāla, as a form of Īiva. She caught sight of the ass, who spoke to her in Sanskrit, at which she became interested and inquiring "Who are you?" asked all about him. Thereupon Gandharvasena laid aside his ass's guise and appeared in his true form. Immediately she became enamored of him and the union of their love was sealed.

'It thus happened that Gandharvasena came every night in his perfect form to visit his loved one, and would then take again his ass's shape in the morning. Accordingly the thought occurred to the princess, "If I could only burn the body of the ass, there would remain alone and forever the form of the man." With this idea, on one occasion when Gandharvasena was sitting by her in human guise, and his two forms were distinct, she threw the ass's body into the fire. A marvel instantly ensued. No sooner had the form of the ass touched the flames than Gandharvasena began to shriek in agony, and in his anguish he cried to her, "Flee hence, for I shall bring the dust of heaven upon this place." So she fled, bearing within her womb the fruit she had conceived by Indra's son.

'A fearful shower of dust from heaven forthwith descended, which buried the old city. But the princess who had escaped gave birth to twin sons. One of these was Vikramāditya; the other was Bhartr̥hari.' Such, according to legend, was their semi-divine origin, and thus the tradition is repeated that Bhartr̥hari was an elder brother of Vikrama and that he held

¹ I may now add, a hint of this legend may be found in Crooke, *The Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, ii, 208; Lassen, *IA.* ii² 753, with references. An analogue in Lucian's *Onos*, imitated by Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses*, is noted by my friend and pupil, Dr. Gray.

the kingdom of Dhār, or rather Dhārā-nagara, the capital of Malwa.'

A newer Ujjain seems then to have come into existence in place of the old, but I did not gather any legendary account as to its beginnings. Misfortunes, however, attended upon the place, partly as a result of Gandharvasena's curse, and one of the legends as to how Vikrama became king of it is preserved somewhat as follows:

'Owing to the effect of Gandharvasena's curse which still hung over the city, the awful goddess Kālī used every day to devour him who had just been anointed king, so that the city would ever be without a ruler. On one particular day the son of a potter woman was chosen to be king. Impending death stared the unwilling monarch in the face. But to the weeping mother Vikrama came as a beggar, for such in reality he was, and learning the cause of the distress he offered himself as a substitute. He was gladly accepted and joyfully installed in the fatal office. But a remedy was in his hands as the sequel proved.

'Kālī was wont, as the legend goes, to come to the palace every night along the remote road mentioned above, and then to destroy the king. On this very pathway Vikrama therefore sacrificed buffaloes and other animals, dug small holes which he filled with wine, and strewed the road with sweetmeats, perfumes, and a carpet of flowers. The cruel goddess partook of these offerings with such delight and was propitiated to such a degree, that when she reached the spot where Vikrama's Gate now stands, she declared herself ready to grant any boon to the one that had so gratified her. It is hardly necessary to add that Vikrama begged that his own life be spared as king and that Kālī should depart from Ujjain, never to return.

'Forced by her pledge she granted these boons, quit Ujjain, and went to Calcutta, but left her two sisters, whose images are now seen at the portal, and granted them the privilege of devouring, every twelve years, as many human lives as they pleased. This they do by cholera, as stated above. In addition to this, moreover, seven girls and five buffaloes were to be sacrificed to them each year—carrying out the old tradition of human sacrifices to Durgā.'

¹ On Dhārā, see also P. G. Nāth, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

These sacrifices used regularly to be fulfilled, and it is stated that those men who gave their five-year-old daughters to be slain received grants of land as a recompense. It is needless to add that the English Government put a stop to such cruel sacrifices, so that now only the buffaloes are killed at the Daṣaratha festival in October on the ninth day (*nomī*) of the month *Āṣvina*. The girls that are now set free are not allowed to marry, however, although the land-compensation is made to their fathers as before. The heads of the buffaloes are buried by the archway which was daubed with red paint, and these are taken out each year when the fresh ones are slaughtered. It was stated that the officiating priests were of the Balāi caste, a sort of Çūdra class, and they eat the flesh of the buffaloes which they sacrifice.

With regard to other legends and the drama, no tradition seems to be preserved about Urvaçī, although one would expect it, owing to the close association of her name with Vikrama throughout Sanskrit literature. But other inquirers may be more fortunate in that matter. It was interesting to learn that the *Caṇḍakāuṣika* is sometimes played at Ujjain in a Marāṭhī version; and also the *Mṛcchakatikā*, which must be particularly appropriate in the very scene where its plot is laid, and of course Çakuntalā is sometimes given. But the list of plays I learned would not be complete without including Shakspeare, whose dramas they likewise sometimes perform—a happy union of East and West. Such at least are some among the many points of interest to me, and they will ever make the recollection of my visit to Ujjain a bright one.